11

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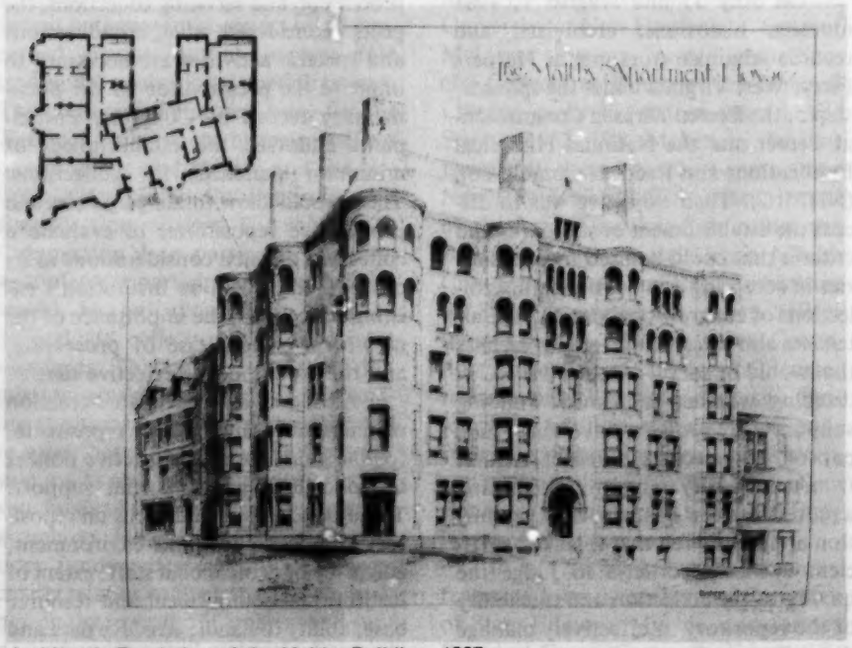
The First Senate Office Building

Today, three handsome Senate office buildings line Constitution Avenue on Capitol Hill. The Richard Brevard Russell Building (1909), the Everett McKinley Dirksen Building (1958), and the Philip A. Hart Building (1982), all arose, in their turn, to meet ever-growing demands for work space triggered by the nation's rise to world power status and the greater accessibility of members to constituents in the twentieth century. This quest for space began as early as 1851 with groundbreaking for the Capitol wings that house the current chambers of Congress. Terraces providing further office quarters were added between 1884 and 1892. In 1897 the Library of Congress moved out of the Capitol, freeing up valuable office space in the west central portion of the building. With these changes underway, members of the Senate decided the time had come to address the longstanding problem of insufficient room for their personal offices.

During the terrible winter of 1888-1889 senators perceived their space problem to be particularly critical. That winter frigid winds whipped through the frozen streets and howled through the hotels, boarding houses and homes where senators were forced, by scarcity of space in the Capitol, not only to live but to work. There was no room in the crowded Capitol's labyrinthine corridors to accommodate even the tiniest

(continued on page 9)



Architect's Rendering of the Maltby Building, 1887.

When the Senate Gave Up the Frank

Franking privileges -- the ability to send mail by one's signature rather than by postage -- date back to the British House of Commons in the seventeenth century. The American Continental Congress adopted this procedure in 1775, and the First Congress wrote it into law in 1789. In addition to senators and representatives, the president, cabinet secretaries, and certain other executive branch officials also were granted the frank. In those days, every newspaper printer could send one paper postage free to every other newspaper printer in the country.

Then as now the frank was a controversial perquisite. Some nineteenth century senators mailed home their laundry each week, enclosing another frank for sending it back. Others franked barrels of china for free, but registered them for a few cents, thus making the government liable for any breakage. At the end of each session most members franked home a trunk that might contain documents, office paraphernalia, bedding, and other household goods. Legend had it that one antebellum senator attached his frank to his horse's bridle and sent the animal home to Pittsburgh. Critics accused incumbents of flooding the mails with government documents, speeches, and packages of seeds all designed to enhance their reelection prospects. The seeds, provided by the Department of Agriculture, were especially popular during the years when the rural population still outnumbered city dwellers. (One congressman received a letter from a constituent thanking him for the very

(continued on page 7)

READEX FICHE

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First Installment of Henry M. Jackson Papers Opened

The Congressional Papers Project of the University of Washington Libraries has opened for research use four sets of early papers, 1936-72, and the voting records, 1941-83, of the late Henry M. Jackson.

One set of early papers includes material from the time of Jackson's service as Snohomish County Prosecutor, 1938 to 1940. The other three document his tenure as 2nd District congressman, 1940 to 1952, and United States senator, 1952 to 1972. More recent records will be opened as they are processed.

Records from the pre-House period include material that touches on many of the local political issues of the day, including Jackson's unsuccessful bid for Snohomish County Superior Court Judge in 1939 and his decision to run for Congress in 1940. The House and Senate material contains documentation on many of Jackson's broad ranging interests including issues regarding local politics, fisheries, merchant marine development, commodity controls and allocations, housing, public power development, native American affairs, national security matters, and NATO. Records resulting from his service on numerous committees including Joint Atomic Energy, Armed Services, and Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations are also included.

These papers, which have detailed finding aids, are available for research use at the Manuscripts Section, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, Washington, 98195. Scholars are advised to contact the library prior to scheduling a visit.

Representative-elect Henry M. Jackson December 1940

Congressional Papers Conference

On July 31 and August 1, 1985 nineteen historians, archivists, and records administrators met at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia under the sponsorship of the Everett Dirksen Congressional Center and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC). Their objective was to discuss the establishment of standards and criteria that could be used by repositories in accepting and administering collections of congressional papers. The attendees also sought to develop guidelines that would be useful for the NHPRC in deciding whether to provide funding support for projects involving such papers. In rejecting a recent request from a university to assist in processing a retired senator's papers, the Commission apparently felt that it lacked sufficient evaluative criteria to judge the quality of the collection and the ability of the repository to effectively manage the collection.

Rather than concentrating on specific curatorial issues of appraisal, negotiation and acquisition, transfer, processing, and servicing collections, the group considered what broad actions and specific activities are necessary to improve the preservation of the documentary record of Congress. Participants endorsed the establishment of minimum standards for collections. These would allow funding agencies and prospective repositories to evaluate a collection on such considerations as its compatability with an institution's existing collections, the importance of the member's career, ease of processing, and the likelihood of effective use.

Attendees also advocated creation of minimum standards for repositories for the guidance of prospective donors of collections and financial support. These standards would focus on repository physical plant and environment, adequacy of professional staff, extent of institutional commitment and resource base, ability to handle sensitive data and classified information, promise of time-

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Editor Richard A. Baker
Production Manager Elizabeth Ann Hornyak
Layout and Design John O. Hamilton

ly processing, and the capacity to manage machine readable records.

Conferees also called for improved records management practices in congressional offices, observing that this is dependent upon the nature of office staffing and turnover, administrative organization, the member's commitment to records management, workload, technology, and the office's relationship with a repository. Participants felt keenly that archivists who have custody of congressional collections require special training in understanding the complexities of the legislative process so that they may deal more effectively with donors and users. The conference endorsed a new program of congressional archival fellowships. These fellowships would allow archivists to spend a month or two working in congressional offices to identify permanent records, draft a records retention schedule, and become familiar with the legislative process and the concerns of members and their staffs.

After identifying these and related general actions, the conferees turned their attention to the role to be played by specific groups in improving the documentary record of Congress. Top priority was accorded to the establishment within the Society of American Archivists of a special task force on congressional records. The task force would permit optimum involvement by all concerned groups, cutting across more traditional professional specializations. The conferees delineated roles for the National Archives, the historical offices of the Senate and House, and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. The role of the Commission drew particular attention as conference participants agreed that it would be an appropriate body to promulgate collection and repository standards. This implies that the Commission would consider applying funding sanctions against projects that fail to meet these standards. The Commission might also solicit and disperse private funds to the benefit of congressional archives. Finally, NHPRC might consider funding demonstration projects chiefly relating to the impact of technology on the records of Congress and supporting audio-visual materials designed to foster improved records preservation practices in congressional offices.

This meeting built effectively on the foundation established by the Senate's 1978 Conference on Research Use and Disposition of Senators' Papers. The 1989 bicentennial of the Senate offers an unparalleled opportunity to capture the richness inherent in members' collections and to ensure that repositories are suitably equipped to administer these valuable resources. One conference participant concluded, "As a first step towards improving congressional papers this meeting fully succeeded. The group identified projects and established priorities for accomplishing them. I am hopeful that the work of this group will be translated into concrete projects that benefit NHPRC, Congress, and archivists." For a more detailed report of the conference, contact the Dirksen Congressional Center, Broadway and Fourth, Pekin, Illinois, 61554.

Two Former Senators Donate Papers

In recent months, two collections of the papers of recent United States senators have been donated to institutions in New England. In August, former New Hampshire Senator Thomas McIntyre presented his papers to the University of New Hampshire. Senator McIntyre's papers, located in the Special Collections Room of the Dimond Library, cover his sixteen years in the Senate, 1962-1978. McIntyre, the first Democrat elected to the Senate from New Hampshire in thirty years, served on the Armed Services Committee, the Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee, and the Select Committee on Small Business. His papers reflect those interests. The McIntyre Collection, consisting of 219 feet of Senate-related material, includes clippings, photographs, bill files, news releases, constituent communications, newsletters and memorabilia. The McIntyre collection is catalogued, with a detailed finding aid, and open to researchers.

In late September, at a ceremony featuring former senator and Secretary of State Edmund Muskie, and former President Jimmy Carter, the Edmund S. Muskie Archives was dedicated at Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. Muskie graduated cum laude from Bates in 1936. The Muskie Archives represents the first such facility in Maine to be established in the context of a college or university. The collection, which includes 2,400 feet of material for the period 1914 to 1980, with particular emphasis on the years since the end of World War II, documents Muskie's youth and career from his first election to the Maine house of representatives in 1946, through his governorship and his twenty-two years in the United States Senate (1958-1980), until his appointment as Secretary of State in 1980 by President Carter. The Muskie Archives' holdings are closed pending completion of processing. Questions about access should be directed to the Edmund S. Muskie Archives, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, 04240.

Congress Authorizes Publication of Biographical Directory

In December 1985 the Senate and House approved Senate Concurrent Resolution 85 authorizing the compilation and printing of the *Bicentennial Edition of the Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*. In 1982 the Senate Bicentennial Study Group, in its final report, noted that the existing edition of this 2,000-page directory, last published in 1972, suffered major shortcomings. According to the Study Group, the Directory "provides information on members only prior to and after their service in Congress, with no reference to their committee chairmanships or legislative accomplishments; it also lacks citations to biographies and other books by and about members." The new edition, compiled by the Senate and House historical offices and scheduled to be published in 1987, will incorporate these new categories of information. It will also include corrections for common errors in dates of birth, party affiliation, and other factual information. Additional details about the conduct of this project can be found in Senate Report 99-174 and House Report 99-429.

The Papers of Joe T. Robinson

by Michael J. Dabrishus
Head of Special Collections
University of Arkansas Libraries

Joseph Taylor Robinson

While it has been nearly half a century since the fiery voice of Senator Joe T. Robinson (D, 1913-1937) last resounded throughout the Senate chamber, it has only been recently that the vast body of his papers has become available for research at the University of Arkansas.

Joseph Taylor Robinson was born on a farm near Lonoke, Arkansas in 1872, one of eleven children. The Robinson household also included six orphans raised as part of the family. By the time Robinson was seventeen he was teaching school, an occupation which provided him with the funds to attend the University of Arkansas for two years. In 1892, he pursued the study of law in an office in Lonoke, about twenty-five miles east of Little Rock. At the age of twenty-two he was elected to the Arkansas General Assembly and served one term as representative. In 1895, after attending summer law school at the University of Virginia, he was admitted to the bar and began his practice in Lonoke. He quickly established a reputation as one of the leading criminal lawyers in Arkansas.

Robinson's initial success in the legal profession didn't dull his interest in politics. In 1902, he was elected to the United States House of Representatives from the 6th Arkansas District and served in this capacity for five consecutive terms, from 1903 to 1913. While a member of the House he was a staunch advocate of child labor laws and anti-trust legislation. He returned to state politics in 1912 when he successfully ran in the governor's race. He was inaugurated the twenty-third governor of Arkansas on January 16, 1913, two days after resigning his House seat.

With the sudden death of Senator Jeff Davis (D, 1907-1913), the Arkansas General Assembly proceeded, on January 28, 1913, to elect Robinson to the vacant Senate seat. This gave Robinson the distinction of being the last senator elected by a state legislature before the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution, providing for direct popular election, took effect. Thus, within a fourteen-day period, Robinson was U.S. representative, governor, and U.S. senator-elect, a rare occurrence in American political history.

Robinson first achieved national prominence as a supporter of Woodrow Wilson's legislative proposals during World War I. He stood by Wilson over the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. Robinson's leadership abilities were recognized by the Democratic party as he was elected permanent chairman of the Democratic National Conventions in 1920, 1928, and 1936, becoming the first in the history of his party to serve as chairman of three national conventions. He continued to grow in popularity in his home state, too, where he was reelected to the Senate in 1918, 1924, 1930, and 1936 by ever-increasing majorities.

He was regarded as one of the ablest parliamentarians in the Senate where he succeeded Senator Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama (D, 1915-1927) as minority leader in 1923 and served in that capacity for ten years. In 1928, the Democratic party selected Robinson as its vice presidential candidate on the ticket with Alfred E. Smith. It was during this campaign that he made some of his most fervent speeches for religious tolerance. In 1930, he attended the London Naval Conference as a member of the United States delegation.

In 1933, Robinson became Senate majority leader. President Roosevelt charged him with far-reaching responsibilities for putting through his massive

New Deal program. As Roosevelt's strongest ally in the Senate Robinson never wavered, and even supported some measures in which he personally didn't approve.

The last major political fight for Robinson occurred during Roosevelt's highly controversial attempt to reorganize the federal judiciary in an effort to increase the membership of the Supreme Court and make it more amenable to New Deal legislation. On July 14, 1937, after weeks of vigorously promoting the "court-packing" bill, Robinson succumbed to heart failure and any hope of the bill becoming law ended. *See page 12 for photograph of Robinson Funeral in the Senate Chamber.*

The papers Senator Robinson accumulated consist of 229 linear feet of correspondence to and from family members, his colleagues, and constituents, bill files, speech files, scrapbooks, campaign files, newspaper clippings, pamphlets, and photographs. The papers primarily cover the period 1900-1937. Only a handful of researchers, primarily graduate students working on dissertations or theses, had access to the papers when they were privately held. In 1976 the Robinson heirs agreed to donate the papers to the University of Arkansas which had actively sought them for nearly thirty years.

The National Endowment for the Humanities, realizing the significance of Robinson's role in the Senate and the immense potential in the papers, supported a processing project designed to meet professional archival standards to make the resources available as quickly as possible. The papers, which were in serious disarray when received, were initially divided according to Robinson's years in the House and Senate. They were further sub-divided into series arrangements according to major subject areas. An inventory to the files was prepared at the folder level, and an index to the letters of significant or prominent correspondents was created to facilitate greater access.

A major factor influencing the historical value of senatorial papers relates directly to the experience and character of the office holder. In Senator Robinson's case we have an individual who arrived on the national political scene during President Theodore Roosevelt's era as a U.S. Representative. His stature grew through the 1920s and 1930s to where he became President Franklin Roosevelt's right-hand man in the Senate. Although no major biography of Senator Robinson has been published to date, the papers are inviting for this and many other research purposes.

Researchers interested in the Robinson papers should contact the Special Collections Department, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, Arkansas, 72701.

Developing The History Of Congress

At the Social Science History Association meeting in Chicago on November 22, 1985, a panel consisting of Professors Michael Les Benedict (Ohio State University), Allan Bogue (University of Wisconsin), Joel Silbey (Cornell University), Aage Clausen (Ohio State University), and David Brady (University of Houston) discussed "Developing the History of Congress." Allan Bogue noted that the study of Congress had suffered from the general disfavor, among historians, of the study of elites and institutions. Bogue observed that the history of congressional elections had drawn more attention than actual legislative activity, and had developed more interesting theories. Roll call analysis had made some contributions, but he suggested the need for a broader approach that would link legislative floor performance to off-floor activities.

Joel Silbey detailed how roll call analysis had clearly established that the historical rhythms of congressional behavior have been partisan, as opposed to the result of regional blocs or issue-oriented factions. Issue differences between the parties were substantive and were reflected in voting; party meant something to the people involved. But Silbey agreed that analysis of roll call votes provides only the beginning of an approach to the understanding of Congress, and he called for studies of constituencies, policy output, recruitment, and leadership.

David Brady and Aage Clausen suggested alternate approaches to these problems. Brady doubted there could ever be a single written "history of Congress," but that there would be many different types of histories. He noted also that conditions in Congress had changed so rapidly in recent years that many political science theories of Congress had quickly become outdated. Clausen, by contrast, proposed a large-scale, multi-scholar project on "The U.S. Congress -- The Last Two Hundred Years." He suggested a conference to determine the framework and methodology for a projected ten-volume series on congressional history.

Members of the audience noted that there are now legislative sections or roundtables at the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Association, and the Society of American Archivists whose efforts should be coordinated for a common effort. They also pointed to the availability of research grant money for writing congressional history through the Dirksen Center, the Lyndon Johnson Library, and other organizations. Michael Les Benedict concluded the session by suggesting that the legislative network newsletter of the Social Science History Association would publish information on research grants and other financial resources, and would seek cooperation among the many groups interested in developing the history of Congress on the eve of the congressional bicentennial.

Congressional Committees Checklist

In October 1985 the Greenwood Press of Westport published *Congressional Committees, 1789-1982: A Checklist.* This 210-page checklist, arranged in keyword order, identifies the more than 1,500 standing, select, special, and joint committees that have existed since 1789 in the Senate and House of Representatives. Each entry includes citations to the legislation authorizing the establishment and, where appropriate, the termination of committees and references to their reports. There are also indexes by subject and session of Congress.

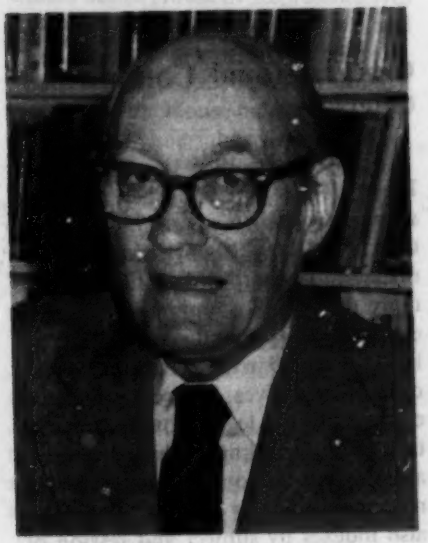
Wilcox, Ridgely Oral Histories Open

Senator /Tom/ Connally said to me one day: "Would you like to be the committee staff director? We're going to set up a new staff. Under the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as you know, we're entitled to set up a professional staff..." He said, "I think I can talk 'Old Van' -- that's the way he referred to Senator /Arthur/ Vandenberg -- "I think I can talk Old Van into it..." Well, the next day, before Senator Connally had a chance to talk to Senator Vandenberg about me, the senator from Michigan called me in and asked me if I would like to become the director of his new staff. I immediately accepted the invitation. This meant, in effect, that Senator Connally was under the impression that he had gotten me the job, and I was therefore his man; and Senator Vandenberg had asked me, regardless of what Senator Connally had said or done after the event. So, in effect, I was more or less welcomed by both the Senate committee leaders, which put me in a very good position.... There's nothing more helpful to a Senate staff member than to be persona grata to both the majority and minority leaders.

Thus, Dr. Francis O. Wilcox became the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's first chief of staff in 1947. With his close ties to both the chairman and ranking minority member of the committee, Wilcox personified the bipartisan foreign policy of that era. In an oral history, given to the Senate Historical Office only months before his death in February 1985, Dr. Wilcox recounted his experiences in recruiting and directing the first professional staff of the Foreign Relations Committee to meet the challenges of America's expanded international role after World War II.

The enormity of their task can be seen in the committee's calendar for the 80th Congress. Among the major items facing the committee, when Dr. Wilcox was appointed, were aid to Greece and Turkey, better known as the "Truman Doctrine," the Marshall Plan, the Rio treaty, the Foreign Aid Act of 1947, aid to China, the UN headquarters convention, and the Vandenberg Resolution, which led to the formation of NATO.

After leaving the committee staff in 1955, Dr. Wilcox became Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. In that role, in 1960, he was standing at the podium in the General Assembly, when Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev removed his shoe and pounded it on the table. From 1961 to 1973, Dr. Wilcox served as dean of the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. He later became director of the Committee on Organization of Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, and director general of the Atlantic Council of the United States.



Francis O. Wilcox

During my time /in the Senate Disbursing Office/ we went full circle from the Bob Cratchitt in "A Christmas Carol" by Charles Dickens style of bookkeeping to a sophisticated, modern records keeping system. When I went to the Disbursing Office we used to have -- if you can visualize Bob Cratchitt in the story, at his desk with the green visor and his armband -- a similar type of bookkeeping desk there. There was a safe under it where we kept all of the books that were done in pen and ink. I was always kidded about sitting on a high stool, like a bar stool, with my little visor hat on, and bands on my sleeves keeping the records of the United States Senate. I used to kid about that. But it was true, we did. We went a long ways

William A. Ridgely

in bringing it around, but it had to be done. Otherwise, I told the Appropriations Committee that if we had not automated the way we did, that I would have guessed that the Disbursing Office staff would have had to double.

William Ridgely observed the dramatic growth of the Senate staff and other changes in the institution during the years after World War II from his side of the teller's window. In 1949 Ridgely started in the Disbursing Office as a clerk, moving to head bookkeeper and Financial Clerk. In his oral history interviews he recounts the problems of paying for the Senate's expanding business, including its staff, committee work, and special investigations, as well as the Disbursing Office's dealings with the Appropriations and Rules committees.

In later years, Ridgely became Assistant Secretary of the Senate, where among other duties he handled arrangements for the Senate's participation in the Interparliamentary Union. He describes the purpose and planning of these trips, including an eventful meeting in Havana, Cuba, in 1981.

Copies of the Wilcox and Ridgely transcripts have been deposited along with others in the Senate Historical Office's oral history series at the Senate Library, the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and the Legislative Archives Division of the National Archives. Microfiche editions of the interviews are also available from Scholarly Resources, Inc. of Wilmington, Delaware.

Franking Privileges *(continued)*

fine grass seeds, but asking him to send no more since his canary had died.)

Constituents often asked congressmen to frank envelopes for their own use. One member boasted that if the papers were properly arranged he could write his frank three hundred times an hour. In the years following the Civil War, congressmen began having their signatures reproduced on rubber stamps, and having additional rubber stamps made for their friends to use. In 1869 it was estimated that a ton of free mail was leaving the Washington post office daily, only a small portion of which was the type of official correspondence originally intended to be franked. Gail Hamilton once described the franking habits of her cousin, House Speaker and later Senator James G. Blaine: "until /the frank/ was abolished, he used it freely, franking his own letters and letters of friends who happened to be under his roof, or under whose roof he happened to be, as he has been from the foundation of the frank, and just as freely he used his purchased postage stamps after the frank was abolished."

Hamilton's allusion to the abolition of the frank referred to a curious hiatus, between 1873 and 1891, when Congress relinquished its franking privileges. Pressure for reform had been mounting for years, led by various Postmasters General who objected to carrying large quantities of government mail without reimbursement. In 1869, Postmaster General John Creswell recommended against continuing the "evil" of franked mail as a means of reducing his department's deficit and making it more self-sustaining. The movement for this reform drew popular support during the administration of Ulysses S. Grant (1869-1877) when the public perceived widespread extravagance and corruption in the executive and legislative branches of the government. In 1872, the Republican party platform carried a plank demanding an end to the frank, and when Congress returned to session that December, following the election, many senators believed it time to enact that campaign promise into law.

The House passed H.R. 2982 to abolish the franking system and to charge previously franked correspondence at the prevailing rates of postage. However, the House bill also provided for special stamps for the free mailing of official House and Senate documents. When the bill reached the Senate floor, on January 22, 1873, this special stamp provision ran into opposition. Senator Hannibal Hamlin of Maine noted that the House bill "provides for the distribution of all your public matter, not your speeches, not your own private correspondence; but for all public printed matter stamps are to be furnished to the Secretary of the Senate, and by him to members." This arrangement, protested Hamlin, would do nothing to curb "the astonishing amount of useless public printing that is done." Senator George Edmunds of Vermont added that the Post Office intended to provide senators with special machines to stamp official documents. "I have heard it said by the enemies of our great party, Mr. President, that the Post Office Department was a machine," Edmunds declared, "but I did not know that it was going into the business of making other machines, to be furnished to the various bureau officers, and so on, for the propagation of information among the people otherwise than by writing." The idea of machine stamped mail seemed deceitful to Edmunds. "If we have told the people of the United States in our /Republican/ convention at Philadelphia that we were going to abolish the franking privilege, where is the use of saying to them we have abolished it when we have not?"

A few senators spoke in favor of the frank. Senator F.T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey defended "free and unrestrained communications between the people and their representatives," and argued that "the franking privilege has done much to promote human rights and liberty.... It is a most valuable right to those that I represent. It belongs to my constituents." Nevertheless, the Senate voted 33 to 15 for an amendment prohibiting compensation for postage of any sort. The bill then went to conference where House members tried to make the Senate's restrictions less sweeping, but failed. Abolition of the frank became law on January 31, 1873. A month later, as the 42nd Congress prepared to adjourn, its members voted themselves a pay raise from $5,000 to $7,500 a year, and made it retroactive

A cartoon from "Harper's Weekly," 1860

MEMBER OF CONGRESS (*who franks his clothes home to Wisconsin and has them cheaply laundered*)

"Seven cotton shirts, three flannel, six pairs of socks, one collar, five handkerchiefs, three pair drawers, two linen coats—that's all, I guess; and as the mail's just closing, that must do for to-day."

over the past two years. Public indignation over the "salary grab" was intense, forcing the 43rd Congress to rescind the pay increase and obliterating whatever credit Congress might have won for cost-saving through abolishing its frank.

The next eighteen years saw a gradual restoration of the frank. In 1874, legislation provided for reduced postal rates for sending the *Congressional Record* and other public documents, and in 1875 they again became postage-free. Senator Edmunds, who sponsored this provision, cited the "large number of public documents . . . accumulated in our committee rooms." The 1875 law also allowed for free mailing of seeds and agricultural reports. In 1883 an act made it the duty of other government departments to enclose franked envelopes in all official communications with senators and representatives requiring responses. Finally, in 1891, Congress quietly restored full franking privileges for all its correspondence. Proponents argued that abolition of the frank had not made the slightest improvement in the Post Office's financial picture, and noted that members of Congress were the only government officials required to pay postage on their public mailings. Qualified, defined, and regulated frequently over the years since 1891, the franking of mail remains an important link in the communications between members of Congress and their constituents.

Sources

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STATEMENTS ON THE SENATE'S HISTORY

Early in 1980 Senate Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd inaugurated a comprehensive series of addresses to the Senate on subjects related to its history and traditions. By the end of 1985 he had completed 79 statements. When the series concludes in a year or two it will be edited for publication as a separate document. All addresses are listed below with citations to the daily edition of the *Congressional Record.*

ROBERT C. BYRD'S HISTORY OF THE U.S. SENATE

TOPICAL SERIES

Date	Subject	Pages
Mar. 21, 1980	General History of Congress	S2789-2792
Mar. 28, 1980	General History of the Senate	S3232-3235
Apr. 3, 1980	Role of Congress in American Government	S3514-3516
Apr. 18, 1980	History of the Senate Leadership	S3920-3925
May 2, 1980	Role of Senate Floor Leaders	S4491-4497
May 9, 1980	Assistant Floor Leaders/Whips	S5046-5050
May 16, 1980	Secretary of the Democratic Conference/ Office of President Pro Tempore (I)	S5524-5536
May 20, 1980	List of All Current and Former Senators	S5658-5664
May 21, 1980	Office of President Pro Tempore (II)	S5673-5675
May 28, 1980	Sergeant at Arms (I)	S5842-5845
June 4, 1980	Sergeant at Arms (II)	S6222-6225
June 13, 1980	Secretary of the Senate	S6951-6959
June 16, 1980	Majority and Minority Secretaries	S7107-7111
June 25, 1980	Chaplain of the Senate	S8217-8222
July 2, 1980	Parliamentarian/Legislative Clerks	S9187-9194
July 21, 1980	*Congressional Record*/Reporters of Debate	S9469-9472
Aug. 1, 1980	Democratic Conference and Policy Committee	S10609-10616
Aug. 4, 1980	Republican Conference	S10654-10657
Aug. 18, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, 1789-1800	S11167-11172
Aug. 25, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, 1800-1859	S11456-11461
Sep. 3, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, Since 1859	S11968-11974
Sep. 8, 1980	Senate Pages	S12212-12218
Sep. 17, 1980	The United States Constitution	S12719-12723
Sep. 30,1980	General Accounting Office	S13851-13853
Oct. 1, 1980	Library of Congress	S14014-14919
Nov. 14, 1980	Government Printing Office	S14449-14451
Nov. 17, 1980	British Parliamentary Leadership	S14549-14551
Nov. 24, 1980	The Senate Press Galleries	S14905-14911
Dec. 4, 1980	Records of the United States Senate	S15487-15492
Dec. 8, 1980	Circular Letters of Congressmen	S15797-15812
Dec. 15, 1980	Congressional Pay, 1789-1980	S16563-16564
Jan. 21, 1981	Legislative Counsel of the Senate	S445-447
Jan. 29, 1981	Botanic Garden and Capitol Landscape	S801-806
Feb. 3, 1981	The Capitol Police	S945-951
Feb. 16, 1981	The Senate Rules -- An Overview: 1789-1981	S1284-1295
Mar. 10, 1981	Limited Debate, 1789-1981	S1928-1937
Apr. 8, 1981	U.S. Senate -- Some Senate Rules and Practices	S3615-3619
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Oct. 25, 1985	Two West Virginia Senators	S14220-14227
Nov. 18, 1985	Robert A. Taft's Senate, 1945-1953	S15692-15699

First Senate Office Building *(continued)*

additional offices for members, who either had to work from their overflowing desks on the Senate chamber floor, where they were at the mercy of constant interruptions, or flee to their rooming houses and hold court in their parlors. Senator William Frye of Maine later claimed that it was that dreadful winter of 1888, when senators had to struggle to and fro from their home offices to the Capitol through perilously icy streets, that finally prompted them to deal with their space problem.

One more winter passed before a solution to the overcrowding dilemma appeared in mid-1890. The handsome Maltby House was for sale. A large, five-story apartment house, only three years old, it stood at the corner of New Jersey Avenue and B Street, now Constitution Avenue, just a few steps from the Senate wing of the Capitol. Designed by Washington architect Robert Stead and built in 1887 by New York developer Maltby Lane, the red brick building with red mortar and red Potomac sandstone trim had cost $97,000. On September 26, 1890, Senator John Sherman of Ohio introduced a bill to purchase the Maltby House for $133,000. By the following spring, the negotiations were complete. The Senate acquired the building for $125,000 and the adjoining lots for $13,000. Soon thereafter the delighted senators and committees began to move into their new quarters.

The House of Representatives immediately displayed its jealousy. The 332 representatives had no more office space in the Capitol than the 76 senators had had prior to buying Maltby House. Previously, House members thought that Butler House, the enormous granite home of the late Representative Ben Butler of Massachusetts, on the House side of Capitol Hill would be available for their office use. However, the Coast and Geodetic Survey had quietly taken over that building and the representatives were still smarting from the loss. By July 1892, several of them openly coveted the Senate's new office building.

Representative Thomas Henderson of Illinois charged that Maltby House was too large for just the Senate and asked that the House be permitted to occupy some of its rooms. Representative Benton McMillin of Tennessee, with "some exhibition of warmth," declared that the Senate now had too much room and ought to be made to share it. The Senate, however, had no intention of giving up its new-found spacious quarters in the Maltby Building.

Within a few years, senatorial attitudes changed as members' delight with their new office space turned to dismay. The Maltby Building proved less the answer to a prayer for more space than expected, for the building began to deteriorate almost immediately. The upper floors under the wooden mansard roof were insufferably hot. Rooms there were routinely assigned to the newest senators who, as spring turned to summer, refused to use their "ovens." Broken windows were not replaced. A familiar figure about the building was "Stubby" Stubbs, the heating engineer, who carried a tool box and large hemp bag full of rags and cotton to stuff in window cracks against the bluster of winter's fierce winds. The performance of the building's electrical system ranged from erratic at best to dangerous at worst. Nearly every thunderstorm cut off the electricity for days.

The Maltby Building's worst problems, however, weren't with maintenance but with construction. In 1901, alarmed by what seemed to be a rapid rate of settlement, the Senate requested the Superintendent of the Capitol Grounds to report on the structure's safety. The Superintendent responded that the problem lay with the building's foundation: "The Maltby Building stands on what is commonly called 'made' ground. From best information it was years back a dumping ground for all kinds of refuse. The site was formerly occupied by the stables of the old Washington and Georgetown Railway Company." The site's use as a stable was confirmed when the Superintendent removed the brick elevator shaft that had settled seven inches, carrying the floors and walls with it, and replaced it with a steel one: "When its foundations were exposed, they were found to rest on what was practically an old bed of manure, over two cart loads of which were taken out." The Superintendent

concluded that the Maltby Building was in very bad shape but usable as long as "special precautions" were taken to "prevent the overloading of floors throughout the building, especially with books in bags," files, and heavy boxes of documents, just the things that every senator tended to load into his office. The city fire marshal was less optimistic. He reported, simply, that the building was a fire trap!

Despite this grim report, the Senate continued to use the Maltby Building, weighting down its precarious floors, until 1908-1909, when the building now known as the Russell Building, was completed. Charles Watkins, a secretary to Senator James Clark of Arkansas and later the Senate's first official Parliamentarian, remembered that when he worked for Senator Clark in the Maltby Building at the turn of the century, one mailman handed out all the mail and walked up all five floors on his rounds: "To receive a dozen first class letters a day was exceptionally heavy and I recall once there was a period of three days when we got none." By 1909, when the senators prepared to move to new quarters, their mail was coming in by the sacks full.

In 1908, as the Maltby Building was falling apart and the senators were ready to evacuate, the Senate finally agreed to share the building with the House. After only a year the House, as well, fled its sagging walls. The Maltby Building stood unused for a decade except for storage on its lower floors and was gradually stripped of its mantles, radiators and plumbing. In 1917, there were suggestions that the building be pressed into wartime service, but Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia protested so loudly against the idea of condemning clerks, soldiers or anyone else to its unsafe halls that the idea was dropped.

The Maltby Building remained at the corner of New Jersey and Constitution Avenues until 1930 when the government paid the Hechinger Company $1,873 to knock it down. Today, while the three white marble Senate Office Buildings rise majestically along Constitution Avenue, the area where the Senate's first office building once stood has been transformed into a lovely park on the north side of the Capitol.

Mary Logan's Senate

Mary Logan moved to Washington following the election in 1858 of her husband to a seat in the House of Representatives. In 1871 John A. Logan (R-IL) began a Senate career that lasted, with a two-year break, until his death in 1886. The Logans, in their respective spheres, exercised great influence in the political and social life of the nation's capital. In 1901 Mary Logan published *Thirty Years in Washington,* from which is taken the following account of the Senate in the closing years of the nineteenth century.

Making our way to a seat in the Senate gallery we find ourselves in an entirely different atmosphere. It is not because the men are so very different, for they are not. Most of them have been members of the House earlier in their careers. The difference lies altogether in the way of doing business and in the traditions which have come down from the First Congress. When Congress was sitting in Philadelphia previous to 1800, a writer in one of the newspapers of the day said:—"Among the senators is observed constantly during the debates the most delightful silence, the most beautiful order, gravity and personal dignity of manner. They all appear every morning full-powdered and dressed in the richest material. The very atmosphere of the chamber seems to inspire wisdom, mildness, condescension. Should any of the senators so far forget for a moment as to be the cause of a protracted whisper, while another was addressing the Vice-President, three gentle raps with his silver pencil case by Mr. Adams immediately restored everything to repose and the most respectful attention."

The dignified pace set by the first senators has changed but little. Then there were but twenty-six senators, and now there are ninety, or more than there were in the original House of Representatives. Time has modified somewhat the early dignity of the body, but it is hardly perceptible. The bitterness of partisan feeling seldom shows itself in the calm and dignified serenity which is the traditional senatorial demeanor. There is a slight moving about; senators come in and are called out, but so quietly do they move on the soft carpets that no one is disturbed. Occasionally there is a sharp hand-clap, and one of the pages, all bright-looking, smartly-dressed youngsters, trips lightly up to some senator to do his bidding—to get a book or paper from his committee room, or to take a telegram to the operator in the corridor. These page-boys, when disengaged, are seated on the carpeted steps to the Vice-President's platform, and, when there has been nothing to distract them, they have been known to have a quiet little game of marbles behind the Vice-President's chair, but in such a silent and decorous manner that the dignity of the Vice-President was not ruffled by a knowledge of it. Congressmen who always have the privilege of coming on the floor during open sessions of the Senate, drop in often, especially if some great debate is on, but they leave their house manners outside the door. The people in the galleries adapt themselves unconsciously to the calmer and higher atmosphere. If they should be so rash as to applaud anything a senator said, the gallery would be cleared. While the Republicans are seated on one side and the Democrats on the other, it is a common thing to see a senator of one political persuasion walk over to the seat of one of the opposite faith and talk with him with every evidence of sincere good nature, and as if there was no such thing as differences in political belief. Even in the stormy days when Calhoun was the lightning, Webster the thunder, and Clay the rainbow of the Senate, and in those still more tempestuous days just preceding the Civil War, there were few occasions when senatorial courtesy was damaged by passionate outbursts of feeling.

Mary Logan

The greatest change that has been brought about is in the apparent lack of attention given to speakers. It often happens in the long discussion of some important matter on which many senators make lengthy speeches that the audience is small and the attention limited, but this is due to the fact that the "Congressional Record" brings out in cold type the next morning all that is said, so that a senator can lose little at such times if he withdraws to his committee room to take up the multifarious matters always demanding his attention. As one-third of the body is elected every two years, the larger part is always experienced, the more so as most elections are re-elections, and the absolutely new members are readily assimilated. They quickly find that nothing offends so much as violations of Senate traditions of dignity and respect and courtesy. The one unpardonable sin in the Senate is to be unsenatorial.

How effective are these traditions is shown by the fact that there is not, as in the House, any means for limiting debate. There is no time this side of eternity when a senator *must* stop talking. No matter what business interests may hang upon the issue, the Senate can not even act till it has unanimous consent.

Another evidence of the rigidity of tradition is given in the executive session. The Senate sat with closed doors for two sessions, or until 1794, when it was resolved that the legislative sittings should be opened unless otherwise ordered. The secret sessions are now confined to executive nominations or treaties, and though so mysterious are generally very tame affairs. One senator relates that when he first came to Washington, it was as a Representative, and when upon the floor of the Senate one day, an executive session was ordered. The galleries were cleared and the representative

was courteously asked to retire with the rest. As he went out he drew mental pictures of what sacred and highly important affairs these secret sessions must be. A few years later he appeared as a Senator and he anxiously awaited the moment when an executive session should be held. Finally one of the venerable Senators solemnly moved that the Senate go into executive session. The new member assumed his gravest dignity. The moment he had so long awaited had come. People filed out of the galleries; the doors were closed and at last the Senate was alone. It was then moved that Mr. Somebody be confirmed in his appointment to a post-office somewhere. The Vice-President of the United States remarked: "Without objection it is so ordered." Then there was a motion to adjourn and another mysterious executive session was over.

The Senate would not abandon this curious privilege, however, not because it cares so much about keeping the proceedings of an executive session secret, but simply because it is the traditional custom of the Senate. The secrets of these sessions as a matter of fact are seldom kept, even when important. One of the rules is that "any senator or officer of the Senate who shall disclose the secret or confidential business of the proceedings of the Senate, shall be liable, if a Senator, to expulsion from the body, and if an officer, to dismissal from the service of the Senate and to punishment for contempt." But the secrets always leak out and no punishment is ever inflicted.

The Senate begins its legislative work at noon, and when the hour is reached the gallery is generally filled, for on days when a debate or discussion of some subject of great public interest is promised, people throng into the galleries early in the morning, often bringing luncheon with them. If they should once surrender their seat, they might not be able to gain an entrance again that day. The Vice-President enters with the Chaplain, who makes a short, impressive prayer, after which comes much routine business, communications, petitions, memorials, bills, and resolutions. These over, the Senate usually proceeds to its calendar, which consists of measures reported from committees. Sometimes this is taken in order, but oftener measures are taken from it during the morning hour "by general consent," something which could never be had in the House. The morning hour ends at two o'clock, when the calendar is laid aside and the Senate proceeds to the consideration of what is known as unfinished business. What this shall be is also a matter of general consent — that is, a unanimous agreement has been secured to consider a certain measure unfinished business. It must come up every day at two o'clock until it is finally disposed of.

Usually when the President desires to communicate with the Senate, one of his private secretaries presents himself in the main aisle of the Senate chamber in the afternoon. The presiding officer, availing himself of the first pause in the remarks of the Senator having the floor, interrupts him by saying: "The Senate will receive a message from the President of the United States." The assistant door-keeper, making a profound obeisance, announces "A message from the President of the United States," and the secretary then says: "Mr. President, I am instructed by the President of the United States to present a message in writing." He then bows and his package of manuscript is carried to the presiding officer, after which the Senator whose remarks were interrupted resumes them. Messages brought from the House of Representatives by its clerk are received with similar formalities. Later in the afternoon, a motion is generally made that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

Such is the general routine of each day's work in the Senate, but the days vary greatly in interest to the visitor. He may chance upon some long, dry speech, which as it is read empties the galleries, or he may listen to a speech which will pass into history. He may be still more fortunate, and listen to a sharp debate when speeches are made by leaders on both sides, and the finest abilities of able men are brought into play.

There have been less than a thousand senators in our history, and of these seventeen have afterwards become Presidents, though curiously enough no Senator when in actual service has ever been called to the Presidency. Most of the Senators have their private secretaries who attend to their enormous mails, for there are plenty of people in every state who consider it their blessed privilege to write to them upon every conceivable subject and to ask them for anything they happen to wish. And the Senators are very particular about replies to their constituents. Almost every day a senator will find in his mail requests of which the following, as exhibited by one member, may be taken as samples:

"Senator — Will carp eat gold fish? If so, send me some carp."

This was referred to the Fish Commission, which doubtless attended to it, for the Fish Commission must needs please the Senator; so that when the time comes he may favor a good appropriation for its work, besides, the Senator assumes that the writer has a vote which may come in handy when his term expires.

Here is another:

"Dear Senator — We want a baby. We want you to pick us out a baby, my wife wants a girl but I want a boy but never mind. I don't care witch. Tell me what it cost. Respectfully,"——

The writer had probably heard about the Foundling's Institute of the District of Columbia, over which the Secretary of the Interior has supervision.

The Senators have their lobbies and lounging rooms where many a choice cigar is smoked and many a story told. But this is beyond the rude gaze of the world. If you wish to see a Senator you are supposed to go to the large waiting-room at one side of the Senate chamber, where decorum reigns. At the passage-way sits an elderly man with several youths in waiting. You hand your card to this man, who scribbles the Senator's name on it, and away goes a messenger. Soon he will return and make to those in waiting a series of perfunctory announcements like these:

"Senator So-and-So is not here at present."

"Senator Blank will see you, sir. Step right into the reception-room."

"Senator X is very sorry, but the Senator makes it a rule not to see ladies at the Capitol."

There are a plenty who do, however, for it is a noticeable fact that the waiting-room is frequently thronged with women. A number of them are conversing with Senators; others are gazing towards the doors which lead into the Senate. Some seem to be waiting with eager eyes and anxious faces; others are leaning back upon the sofas in attitudes of luxurious listlessness. Do you ask why they are here? Are they studying the stately proportions and exquisite *finesse* of the anteroom? Not at all. It is not devotion to the aesthetic arts nor the inspiration of patriotism which brings these women here, but necessity, either real or imaginary. Sometimes it is their only way to success in securing employment or a hearing of their grievances and claims. They are a few, only a very few, of the women with "claims," who through the sessions of Congress haunt the departments, the White House and the Capitol.

The dejected-looking persons on the sofa opposite are petitioners for relief by an act of Congress authorizing the payment of some claim. You may be certain by the unhopeful expression of their faces that it is their own claims which, almost unaided and alone, they are trying to "work through" Congress. Their homes are far distant. They borrowed money to come here and to support their families meanwhile; borrowed money to pay their own board, and the exorbitant fees of the claim agents, who, constantly fanning the flame of "great expectations," assure them every day that Congress will pay them the thousands which they demand. Meantime the session is almost ended, and these claims, on which hang such heavy loads of debt and fear, lie hidden and forgotten in the pigeon-hole of the Committee which must consider and report upon each before it will be heard in the Senate or House.

Members of Committees are beset by such claimants, but are always kind and considerate. Few have the courage to add to the misery of these unfortunates by frankly telling them the truth. They find it out at last, and then, remembering all the evasions, in their disappointment and hopeless poverty, they denounce senators and members as "deceitful and heartless," whereas these honorable gentlemen were only trying to be kind and encouraging. Besides, members of both houses are too much interested in immense claims involving millions to be paid out of the National Treasury, and too much absorbed in the discussion of the general welfare of the Republic, to be able to come down to the small particulars of individual claims and grievances.

Popular Account of Senate's Early Years Reprinted

In 1962 the Senate published as a Senate document Roy Swanstrom's doctoral dissertation entitled *The United States Senate: 1787-1801.* Recently, with a view to the forthcoming bicentennial of Congress, the Senate reprinted this colorful and well documented 325-page study. Individual copies of this volume (Senate Document 99-19) are available without charge from the Senate Historical Office.

CORRECTIONS

In *Senate History* #10 (May 1985) Louis Wyman (R-NH) was omitted from the list of living former senators. That same list carried incorrect party affiliations for Howard Cannon (D-NV) and Roger Jepsen (R-IA).

Senate Chamber Funeral Service of Joseph T. Robinson, July 14, 1937

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